1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *rutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure.

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war.

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of cavi (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mūchulla) or pichicavi (small + cavi). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each cavi in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, cavi, and levo (rewe) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as loŋko, toki, rewe, ūl'men—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of loŋko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ūl'men means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ūl'mens, and vice versa.

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Catchenil; for Coñaripe, Antümelia; for Calefquén, Katriel; for Ancacomoya, Marico Wetra; for Huitág, Dario Caniupán. 622

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian noted that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Lienlaf and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

Rosamel Antümelia, the 38-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos Antümelia. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive notification from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The Governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a meeting of the men of his witran mapu for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another witran mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Lliuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No 622 623

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

622 623 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trailehueno, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, *2*], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by families: we were 190 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ñillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ül'me kurá (ül'me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

765 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622-623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (lonko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ñillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüñilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuchè

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis.

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796
794
628
[574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

[623]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

12; Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *llellatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.